

TABLE 1

DEMOGRAPHIC CORRELATES OF MILITARY POLICY ITEMS

1951

NORC 320 in Percent

Andrea Modigliani

H # 495-4067

Low 547-5944

65 Fagermanth ^{ECON.}
^{LEVEL}

ITEMS	n=	ECON. LEVEL			EDUCAT.		INFORMAT.			SEX M F		YOUTH			POLIT. AFFIL.			MAR- GINAL
		Lo (374)	M (679)	Hi (193)	0-11 (767)	12+ (481)	Lo (514)	M (405)	Hi (341)			54+ (313)	M (536)	35- (409)	Rep (353)	I (253)	Dem (582)	
Help defend other nations attacked by China?	Stay out Don't Know Help Defend	43 9 48	40 6 54	35 3 62	43 8 49	35 5 61	48 10 42	40 4 55	28 4 68	45 8 46	35 4 61	44 10 46	41 5 54	35 5 60	45 5 50	33 6 61	39 5 65	40 6 53
If truce talks break down, what should we do then in Korea?	Pull out Don't Know Hold pres. line Attack w/every- thing	29 14 37 21	23 7 37 33	16 6 41 38	27 11 37 25	19 5 37 39	33 12 37 18	23 7 38 32	13 5 36 46	28 10 39 22	20 7 34 38	29 13 33 25	24 8 38 30	21 7 38 34	24 8 35 33	24 8 32 36	23 7 42 28	24 9 37 30
Bomb supply bases inside China?	Should not Don't Know Should	31 20 50	30 15 56	37 10 53	30 18 52	32 11 57	29 23 47	31 11 59	33 9 58	33 22 45	28 9 63	33 20 47	33 15 52	27 12 61	31 16 53	28 12 60	32 14 54	31 16 54

TABLE 1 (continued)

Median Gamma Coefficients: NORC 307, 315, 317, 320, 327, 329, 332

ITEMS	ECON. LEV.	EDUC.	INFORMAT.	SEX	YOUTH	POL. AFFIL.
1) Right to send troops to Korea	.07	.21	.18	.15	.20	.18
2) Do not pull troops out of Korea	.30	.29	.50	.26	.13	.05
3) Help defend others attacked by Comm. armies	.17	.26	.35	.27	.12	.08
4) Continue present policy or escalate in Korea	.18	.20	.27	.24	.08	-.05
5) Should bomb supply bases inside China	.02	.04	.08	.24	.08	-.13
6) Should break off truce talks now	-.03	-.12	-.02	.11	-.07	-.08
7) Should go to war with Russia now	-.14	-.32	-.20	-.03	.01	.10

TABLE 2

Median Associations Among Military Policy Items ^{a,b}

(NORC Surveys # 302, 307, 314, 315, 317, 320, 327, 329, 332)

	Pro-engagement			Continue present policy or escalate	Pro-escalation		
	Right to send troops	Oppose pulling out	Defend others from China		Bomb inside China	Break off truce talks now	Go to war with Russia now
Right to send troops to Korea		.49 (n=2)	.56 (n=4)	.30 (n=6)	.06 (n=4)	-.23 (n=4)	-.01 (n=3)
Oppose pulling troops out of Korea now	.32 (n=1)		.57 (n=1)	.45 (n=1)	.33 (n=2)	-.07 (n=1)	.12 (n=1)
Should defend another nation attacked by China	.37 (n=4)	.29 (n=1)		.42 (n=5)	.22 (n=2)	-.08 (n=3)	.06 (n=4)
Should continue present policy in Korea or escalate	.19 (n=5)	.25 (n=1)	.32 (n=5)		.39 (n=3)	.09 (n=5)	.16 (n=5)
Should bomb supply bases inside China	.05 (n=4)	.17 (n=2)	.14 (n=2)	.27 (n=3)		.30 (n=3)	.39 (n=2)
Should break off truce talks now	-.12 (n=3)	-.04 (n=1)	-.05 (n=3)	.06 (n=5)	.19 (n=3)		.32 (n=4)
Should go to war with Russia now	-.00 (n=2)	.06 (n=1)	.06 (n=4)	.10 (n=5)	.21 (n=2)	.19 (n=3)	

^a Associations above diagonal are Gamma coefficients (ordinal), those below the diagonal are correlation coefficients (Pearsonian r's).

^b n's in cells refer to the number of surveys on which a particular pair of items appeared and, hence, on which their association is based.

TABLE 3

SUMMARY OF FACTOR ANALYSIS OF EIGHT NORC SURVEYS:

MEDIAN ITEM LOADINGS ON FIRST TWO FACTORS UNDER VERIMAX ROTATION

(Based on NORC Surveys # 307, 314, 315, 317, 320, 327, 329, 332)

Surveys on which items appear	Items	Factor Loadings on:	
		International Interventionism	Political Distrust
332	1 Important for U.S. to cooperate closely with four allies	.70	.03
315	2 Govt. should build defenses and aid allies despite higher taxes	.69	-.01
314, 327	3 Approve of sending military supplies to W. Eur.	.67	.09
332	4 Good for U.S. to be active in world affairs	.66	-.02
307, 315	5 Approve of stationing U.S. troops in Eur. to build defenses	.64	-.06
317	6 Sending troops, military and economic aid to allies is helpful policy	.63	-.15
329	7 U.S. should do something if Comm. seize control in Iran	.60	.02
315	8 U.S. should spend more to help W. Eur. build up defenses	.59	-.17
327	9 Approve of sending military supplies to Asian allies	.57	-.06
317	10 Stopping Comm. more important than staying out of war	.57	.14
317	11 Comm. seizure in Iran would be serious for U.S.	.56	.22
317, 329	12 Helping poor nations raise standard of living is good policy	.56	.01
332	13 U.S. defense program relies on raw material from other nations	.54	.11
327	14 U.S. should encourage rebellions in E. Eur.	.53	.16
307, 314, 317, 329	15 Country has not made enough sacrifices for defense	.50	.13
314	16 Approve economic aid to W. Eur.	.50	-.25

TABLE 3 (Cont.)

SUMMARY OF FACTOR ANALYSIS

Surveys on which items appear	Items	Factor Loadings on:	
		International Interventionism	Political Distrust
329	17 Events in Middle-East are important to U.S.	.50	-.13
315	18 Approve of giving further financial aid to England	.49	-.06
327	19 U.S. should help Comm. refugees from E. Eur.	.48	.08
315	20 U.S. can count on five allies for cooperation	.46	-.03
314, 332	21 Disapprove of govt. handling of domestic policy	-.02	.73
317	22 Govt. did not do all it should to prevent fall of China	.03	.71
315, 332	23 Govt. did not do all it should to prevent outbreak of Korean War	.06	.67
315, 329	24 State Dept. is not doing all it can to eliminate disloyalty	.03	.66
all	25 Disapproves govt. handling of foreign affairs	-.14	.63
314	26 Govt. has no definite plan for dealing with Russia	.02	.63
317, 329	27 Acheson doing poor job and should be replaced	-.06	.63
317, 329	28 Govt. not doing all it should to prevent spread of Comm.	.05	.63
315	29 Govt. not doing all it should to avoid another World War	.03	.61
315	30 Disloyalty in State Dept. is hurting country	.01	.57
327, 329	31 Dissatisfied with allies cooperation with U.S. against Comm.	-.04	.57
329	32 Some officials in State Dept. are disloyal	.07	.56
317	33 Disapprove govt. handling of Comm. jailing of U.S. citizens	-.02	.54
332	34 Govt. not doing all it should to reach Korean accord	-.13	.51

TABLE 3 (Cont.)

SUMMARY OF FACTOR ANALYSIS

Surveys on which items appear	Items	Factor Loadings on:	
		International Interventionism	Political Distrust
314, 315	35 Truman was wrong in dismissing MacArthur	-.05	.50
329	36 Allies will not do their share in building up defenses	-.13	.50
314	37 W. Eur. not doing all it should to build up armed forces	-.03	.46
307, 314, 315, 327	38 U.S. was right to send its troops to Korea	.59	-.21
329, 332	39 U.S. effort in Korea has been worthwhile	.44	-.47
307	40 Oppose pulling U.S. troops out of Korea	.70	-.07
327	41 Oppose pulling U.S. troops out of W. Berlin	.53	-.11
315, 317, 327	42 Should help defend another country attacked by China	.63	.09
all but 302, 307	43 Should continue present policy in Korea or escalate*	.58	.17
307, 327, 329	44 Should bomb supply bases inside China	.52	.30
307	45 Should give Formosa all aid it needs to attack China	.14	.69
307	46 Should drive Comm. troops out of N. Korea as well as South	.41	.39
314, 317, 327, 329	47 Should break off the truce talks now	-.15	.33
	48 U.S. should go to war with Russia now	.06	-.03

*Item offers respondent 3 choices: "pull out" (scored 1), "continue present policy" (scored 3), and "attack communists with everything" (scored 4). "Don't Know" is scored 2.

TABLE 4
INTERVENTIONISM, DISTRUST, AND MILITARY POLICY
TERCILE BREAK*
(In Percent)

		Isolationist		Interventionist		Marginals
		Trust	Distrust	Trust	Distrust	
(NORC 317)	n=	(166)	(166)	(196)	(205)	.60, ^b .50
Help defend other	Stay out	61	65	20	15	38
nations attacked	Don't know	10	5	5	3	6
by Comm. armies?	Help defend	28	30	75	82	56
						^b
(NORC 317)	n=	(166)	(166)	(196)	(205)	.44, .51
What should we	Pull out	52	43	15	8	28
do now in	Don't know	10	4	4	5	5
Korea?	Con't as now	21	10	48	28	28
	Attack Ch.Cm.	17	43	33	60	39
						^b
(NORC 332)	n=	(174)	(141)	(169)	(180)	.37, .53
If the talks	Pull out	41	54	10	21	30
broke down,	Don't know	18	9	6	7	10
what should	Hold pres.line	27	11	60	24	31
we do then?	Attk.w/evry th.	14	26	24	48	28
						^b
(NORC 315)	n=	(71)	(191)	(166)	(99)	.48, .60
Was U.S. right	Wrong	39	71	7	27	34
or wrong to	Don't know	16	6	2	7	9
send troops	Right	45	23	91	67	57
to Korea?						
						^b
(NORC 332)	n=	(174)	(141)	(168)	(180)	.07, .51
Has the U.S.	Not worwh.	48	92	23	62	55
effort in Korea	Don't know	18	3	11	9	11
been worthwhile?	Worthwhile	34	5	66	29	35
						^b
(NORC 327)	n=	(76)	(126)	(92)	(133)	.44, .36
Should U.S.	Should not	46	31	27	14	28
bomb supply	Don't know	22	12	5	5	10
bases inside	Should	32	57	67	81	62
China?						
						^b
(NORC 327)	n=	(76)	(126)	(91)	(133)	-.02, .37
Should we break	Continue	47	29	67	45	45
off the truce	Don't know	22	9	6	3	9
talks now?	Break off	30	63	28	52	46
						^b
(NORC 332)	n=	(174)	(141)	(169)	(180)	-.23, .18
Should we go	Should not	82	82	91	91	87
to war against	Don't know	8	7	1	1	4
Russia now?	Should	11	11	8	9	10

^a
upper and lower terciles of Interventionism and Distrust
Scales are used to create four types-- middle terciles
are dropped.

^b
First figure is Gamma coefficient; second is Phi coefficient

TABLE 5
INTERVENTIONISM, DISTRUST, AND MILITARY POLICY
MEDIAN BREAK^a
(In Percent)

		Isolationist		Interventionist		Marginals
		Trust	Distrust	Trust	Distrust	
(NORC 317)	n=	(306)	(289)	(348)	(302)	
Help defend other nations attacked by Comm. armies?	Stay out	60	56	21	18	.53, .44
	Don't know	10	9	4	4	38
	Help defend	31	35	76	78	7
						56
(NORC 317)	n=	(306)	(289)	(347)	(302)	b
What should we do now in Korea?	Pull out	46	38	16	12	.36, .42
	Don't know	10	7	3	5	28
	Con't as now	23	13	44	27	6
	Attack Ch.Cm.	22	42	37	57	27
						39
(NORC 332)	n=	(393)	(254)	(356)	(294)	b
If the talks broke down, what should we do then?	Pull out	38	48	14	21	.29, .39
	Don't know	18	8	7	10	30
	Hold pres.line	26	17	48	26	11
	Attk.w/evry th.	18	27	32	43	30
						29
(NORC 315)	n=	(268)	(367)	(342)	(241)	b
Was U.S. right or wrong to send troops to Korea?	Wrong	30	62	12	29	.27, .45
	Don't know	16	10	5	7	34
	Right	54	28	83	64	9
						57
(NORC 332)	n=	(393)	(254)	(355)	(294)	b
Has the U.S. effort in Korea been worthwhile?	Not worwh.	52	86	32	66	.05, .42
	Don't know	18	8	12	9	56
	Worthwhile	30	6	56	25	12
						32
(NORC 327)	n=	(327)	(294)	(370)	(278)	
Should U.S. bomb supply bases inside China?	Should not	37	28	25	18	.30, .25
	Don't know	20	11	9	5	27
	Should	43	61	66	77	11
						61
(NORC 327)	n=	(327)	(294)	(369)	(278)	
Should we break off the truce talks now?	Continue	46	34	64	45	-.04, .27
	Don't know	16	12	5	5	48
	Break off	38	55	31	50	9
						43
(NORC 332)	n=	(393)	(254)	(356)	(293)	
Should we go to war against Russia now?	Should not	83	84	90	89	-.16, .12
	Don't know	8	6	3	2	86
	Should	9	11	7	9	5
						9

a
Interventionism and Distrust Scales both broken at the median to create 4 types.

b
First figure is Gamma coefficient; second figure is Phi coefficient

TABLE 6
DEMOGRAPHIC CORRELATES OF INTERVENTIONISM AND
DISTRUST WITH AND WITHOUT CONTROLS FOR POLITICAL AFFILIATION

	<u>Median Gamma Coefficients</u>				
	Full Samples		Only Republicans	Only Democrats	Only Independents
	International Interventionism	Political Distrust	Political Distrust	Political Distrust	Political Distrust
Social Position	.27	.21	.27	.08	.07
Education	.28	.26	.27	.16	.09
Occup. Status	.18	.18			
Econ. Level	.35	.25	.31	.08	.11
Race (White+)	.19	.34			
Sex (Male+)	.18	.09			
Youth	.16	-.10			
Polit. Affil.	.01	-.42			
Information	.40	.29	.36	.11	.12

Data From NORC 317 in Percent

Republicans (n=351)			Democrats (n=575)		
Education					
	0-11th n= (169)	12th+over (182)		0-11th (387)	12th+over (188)
Trusting	46	26		68	61
Distrusting	54	74		32	39

Economic Level						
	Low n= (79)	Med (188)	High (84)	Low (203)	Med (294)	High (78)
Trusting	49	36	20	69	63	64
Distrusting	51	64	80	32	37	36

Information				
	Lower n= (89)	Higher (263)	Lower (196)	Higher (382)
Trusting	51	30	69	63
Distrusting	49	70	31	37

TABLE 7
 POLITICAL DISTRUST, SOCIAL STATUS, AND ATTRIBUTION OF
 POOR PERFORMANCE TO INCOMPETENT PERSONS
 (Data from NORC 315 in Percent)

Do you feel that our govt. is making any real progress in its efforts to stop the spread of communism, or not?

- a) Yes - - - - - 54%
- b) No - - - - - 30%
- c) Don't Know - 16%

(If No) Why do you feel they are not making any progress?

- a) Situation is complicated: our aid program is ineffective, misguided, misused; we are unable to reach a solution in Korea; Communism is just very difficult to stop; we have to take care of people and problems here at home first.
- b) Policy is not tough enough: we're too soft, conciliatory, defensive in our reaction to Communists.
- c) Policy-makers are disloyal or incompetent: too many Communists in Washington; not enough investigation of Communists in govt.; officials are corrupt, selfish, playing politics; officials are stupid, disorganized, confused.

Why no progress against Communism?				
	Complex Situation	Not tough	Disloyalty & incompet.	Marginals
n. =	(100)	(164)	(89)	
Trusting	34	28	8	25
Distrusting	66	72	92	75

Gamma = .42, $p < .001$

TABLE 7 (Cont.)

POLITICAL DISTRUST, SOCIAL STATUS, AND ATTRIBUTION OF

POOR PERFORMANCE TO INCOMPETENT PERSONS

(Data from NORC 315 in Percent)

Social Position

		Periph	M-Periph	M-Cent	Central	Marginals
n =		(68)	(81)	(55)	(68)	
Why no progress?	Complex situation	31	36	24	24	29
	Not tough	56	42	47	43	46
	Disloyalty & incompet.	13	22	29	34	25
		Gamma = .13, p = .25				

		Education		Information			
		0-11 th	12 th +	Low	Med	High	
n =		(215)	(141)	(122)	(102)	(114)	
Why no progress?	Complex situation	30	27	30	30	25	29
	Not tough	51	39	50	44	45	46
	Disloyalty & incompet.	19	34	20	26	30	25
		Gamma = .20, p = .02		Gamma = .12, p = NS			

		Race		Economic Level			
		Non-White	White	Low	Med	High	
n =		(23)	(332)	(104)	(189)	(60)	
Why no progress?	Complex situation	48	27	26	32	27	29
	Not tough	52	39	58	41	40	46
	Disloyalty & incompet.	0	34	16	27	33	25
		Gamma = .54, p = .03		Gamma = .09, p = .10			

TABLE 8

DEMOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOUR TYPES BY
POLITICAL AFFILIATION AND SOCIAL STATUS

(Data from NORC 332 in Percent)

(Data from NORC 332 in Percent)														
		Democrats (n = 620)			Republicans (n = 397)			Independents (n = 210)			Marginals			
		Education												
n =		0-11 th	12 th +		0-11 th	12 th +		0-11 th	12 th +					
		(418)	(202)		(204)	(193)		(116)	(94)					
	Trust-Isolat.	46	16		29	8		27	20		30			
	Distr-Isolat.	15	10		35	18		28	18		20			
	Trust-Interv.	29	52		14	22		28	23		28			
	Distr-Interv.	10	22		23	52		18	38		23			
		Economic Level												
n =		Low	Med	High	Low	Med	High	Low	Med	High				
		(210)	(331)	(74)	(82)	(231)	(78)	(54)	(121)	(31)				
	Trust-Isolat.	51	32	15	33	17	10	44	17	13	30			
	Distr-Isolat.	15	13	12	37	22	29	24	26	13	20			
	Trust-Interv.	22	42	47	16	20	12	24	28	23	28			
	Distr-Interv.	12	12	26	15	42	49	7	29	52	23			
		Social Position												
n =		Per	M-P	M-C	Cent	Per	M-P	M-C	Cent	Per	M-P	M-C	Cent	
		(144)	(161)	(111)	(77)	(59)	(73)	(93)	(98)	(35)	(59)	(40)	(42)	
	Trust-Isolat.	52	42	28	10	36	27	13	11	43	27	10	14	30
	Distr-Isolat.	14	12	12	8	36	32	25	14	29	22	23	19	20
	Trust-Interv.	24	36	45	60	17	16	22	18	20	32	30	21	28
	Distr-Inverv.	10	10	15	22	12	25	41	56	9	19	38	45	23